The United Nations Abused *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

February 13, 1965, 35 cents

WASHINGTON

Poverty in the Model City

James Ridgeway

Russia's Stake in Vietnam

Roger Morris

William Korns on "House Out of Order"

Herbert S. Peyser on Drug Addicts

Stanley Kauffmann on Joan of Arc

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DISSENT

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No institution supports us, none controls us. A group of intellectuals, labor people and students edits Dissent *(about 100 pages per issue). Our circulation is small but growing; our deficit large but growing. No one gets paid: it's an old-fashioned labor of love and conviction.*

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Disillusioned USA

★ President Johnson proposes to swap visits with the Russians in 1965. That is splendid. It could hardly come at a better time. America is tops for economic and financial power but is beginning to be bored with international problems. There have been perceptible signs, we think, of withdrawal. Not withdrawal in the isolationist sense, but in the sense of disillusionment with the postwar vision of a helpful and freespending USA cooperating with the rest of the world. The amount of foreign aid is America's internationalism quotient; it has gone down.

The war in Vietnam is disillusioning. It would have been unthinkable a few years ago to suggest in Washington that we might lose that war, but now the idea is expressed fairly frequently here. A rationale of withdrawal has appeared: Soviet Russia, we are told, is overcommitted in Europe and is being forced to withdraw its influence into its old borders. That makes it all right, so the argument runs, for the US to withdraw too, from overcommitment in Asia. Right? Wrong? Honestly, we don't know; but there is certainly no fiery determination here to push the Saigon war further, and no trumpet call from Mr. Johnson (so far anyway) on whose superior knowledge of the facts most of us must rely. Reciprocal Moscow-Washington visits would certainly be appropriate.

There is another aspect – the UN. The situation is desperate. The US and USSR are deadlocked. The Soviets and France won't pay their peace-keeping assessments which a World Court decision affirms. By one device or another a final showdown has been averted. Meanwhile the medium-sized and smaller nations, whose life may hang on the UN, hold back and show no signs of putting up vital additional funds for police-keeping chores.

The death of the UN would be dreadful. We would plunge back into alliances, and gird for atomic war. The UN is the only thing we have to show for two world wars. Snuffing the UN candle would leave us in the dark – on a precipice. Red China would love it (and so would our own dedicated John Birch societies). Already five nations have the Bomb. Surely, in 1965, the weight of common dangers must be coming close to equalling the weight of antagonisms between the US and USSR.

President and Press

★ At home, President Johnson is driving the Washington press corps wild, while opinion polls rank him even higher than when he took office. He has presented Congress with one big proposal after another. By this week he will have sent 15 messages since the 89th Congress met. There is a good chance that most of these programs will pass.

On the economic side he has deftly confirmed the revolutionary Keynesian change in the country's thinking, using deficit financing and government intervention to stimulate expansion and growth. One would not have believed it possible! There is hardly a murmur from editorial pages that would have roared for a balanced budget only three years ago.

What is this affair with the press? The correspondents feel bitter, but there is little they can do. Until last week, the President had all but dropped the 50-year formal press conference that served as a transmission medium to the nation. He has displayed a jealous secretiveness about news that exacts severe penalties from any unwary subordinate who violates it. More than once he has deliberately misled the press or denied matters that later came to light. The press corps has built up quite an expansive view of its own importance over the years that Mr. Johnson now seems to enjoy deflating.

While he was Senate Majority Leader he was high-handed to subordinates, and he brings the same attitude to the White House, where the press is learning to be seen, not heard. The public sides with a President: in fact the press is always a favorite whipping boy in America. On the whole, in fact, Mr. Johnson has had a very good press.

In the long run this may not be to Mr. Johnson's advantage. A wise President can learn a good deal from a press conference. He can learn what the country is thinking. This business of not sending Hubert Humphrey to the Churchill funeral, for example, is now recognized as a *gaffe*. Mr. Johnson was ill, but if subordinates whom he trusted could have been interrogated about it, a clumsy mistake might have been avoided. We don't believe it was a snub, we think the simplest explanation is the best; Mr. Johnson didn't think of Mr. Humphrey. The *London Times* argued, "He doesn't want attention diverted in any way from himself." Possibly. Our own thought, however, is that it was not an intended slight; it was insensitivity. "It was a mistake," Mr. Johnson himself says disarmingly.

Most of the measures Mr. Johnson is sending to Congress had their spadework done by earlier Presidents. Harry Truman started Medicare for example; Kennedy broke the ice for the poverty program. This is characteristic of Washington; one generation accepts what an earlier one rejects. Nothing is so painful as a new idea.

It would be comforting if Mr. Johnson would start outlining soon some new and minority views; doing a little trail-breaking himself for men who come after him. We hope this will come, but we do not see this procedure fitting into the idea of government "by consensus."... The world would be in bad shape today, incidentally, if Churchill had guided by consensus.

Will there be a coherent debate on the education bill? Under it a small amount of state aid is given to parochial schools. The Civil Liberties Union calls sections "so fuzzy" that they "would create grave invasions of the separation of Church and State." House sponsors evidently hope to avoid breaking the thin ice by skating over it very rapidly. The real test may come in the Senate.

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The UN Abused

At the start of its "International Cooperation Year" the United Nations reached its nadir with last week's further recess of the Assembly over the dues issue. General de Gaulle proposed a five-power conference, including Communist China, to revise the Charter.

No one should be surprised at Russia's refusal to pay its assessments to the UN Middle East (UNEF) and Congo (UNOC) accounts for peacekeeping expenses. Ever since 1951, when the Soviet delegate inexplicably stayed away from the Security Council's debate on Korea and thereby allowed the Council to approve UN intervention without a Russian veto, the Soviets have done their best to weaken the UN as an effective police force. They vetoed the Middle East force in the fall of 1956 and refused to pay costs after the General Assembly subsequently authorized the action. They originally, in the Security Council, approved the Congo operation, but after the murder of Lumumba they vetoed any further Council action, and again refused to pay assessments later levied by the General Assembly. They have gone along so far with the UN Cyprus action (which in any case has been financed entirely from voluntary contributions, not assessments); they could reverse themselves at any time.

But the Soviets have been able to bring the UN to a grinding halt only because the United States raised first in the General Assembly, then before the World Court and finally in the Assembly again, the legal issue of collective responsibility under Article 19 of the Charter for financing all peacekeeping acts of the General Assembly. The Russians (and the French) responded by asserting, against the opinion of the World Court, that such acts of the Assembly are "illegal" because only the Security Council has the right to initiate them. Now Russia (with France) is daring the majority of the Assembly, which voted differently, to impose that sanction under Article 19 which takes away the Assembly votes of club members who are more than two years in arrears on their dues.

Ever since 1962, the State Department has been spoiling for a showdown; and now it is wildly hunting for ways to avoid one.

It all started with the UN bond issue, initiated in 1962 by the United States to provide for collective financing of the Congo operation in the face of increasing congressional hostility both to the operation and to the fact that the US had been paying voluntarily 60 percent or more of the costs. The State Department, but not Congress, was convinced that only the presence of a UN force stood

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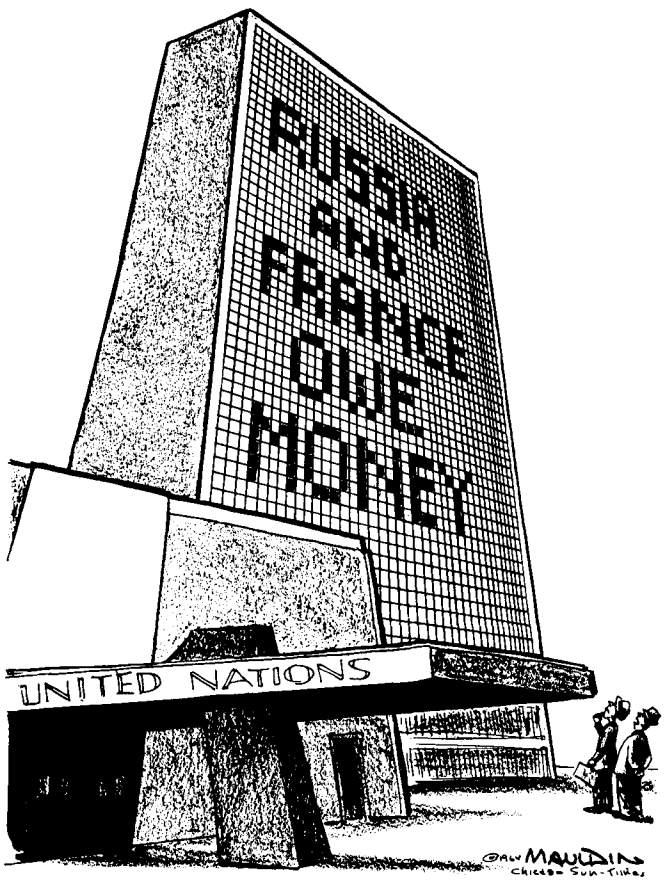
between the Congo and Communism, and told Congress that if authority was granted for the US to purchase UN bonds, the bonds would be serviced through the regular budget of the UN. Everybody would have to pay, and any government which didn't would eventually lose its vote under Article 19. As an earnest of its intent, State initiated an action before the World Court asking for an advisory opinion. The Court ruled that while "coercive" or "enforcement" action by the UN against a member state could be authorized only by the Security Council, the Middle East and Congo operations did not fall under this description; therefore, the acts of the Assembly in these instances were legal and assessments legally binding under Article 19. The Justices of the Court decided nine in favor (US, Britain, Italy, Greece, Ireland, China, Japan, the United Arab Republic and Panama) to five against (Russia, France, Peru, Argentina and Poland). Then, at the urging of the State Department, both Houses of Congress passed a resolution last August, unanimously urging that financially delinquent members of the UN be subject to the penalty provision of Article 19 and lose their votes in the Assembly.

In sponsoring a resolution before the General Assembly "endorsing" the Court's opinion, the US representative said: "The issue before us raises questions of a fundamental character: the role of international law; the standing of the International Court of Justice. . . . If we lose the moorings of the law, we can only lose ourselves in the swift currents where power alone dominates." The resolution passed 76 to 17 with eight abstentions.



"We've Tried Everything Else . . ."

But the effectiveness of the world organization stems from its usefulness as a seat of negotiation, not a seat of legislation. Moreover, Western notions of the "rule of law" are unacceptable to a majority of member states. In retrospect, the State Department's thesis looks more like a clever ploy than a noble policy, for nobody seriously contends that the Department, much less Congress, would accept as binding on America an assessment of the General Assembly for a peacekeeping venture, or any other kind of venture, authority for which was adopted over US objection. One only need envision, for example, a new UN peacekeeping operation in the Congo which sought to replace Tshombe by Gbenye, or a new UN capital development fund to compete with the World Bank. In effect, the State Department has been trying to enforce on Russia and France a principle which it would never allow to be enforced against the US.

Clever diplomacy often permits such anomalies and is justified if it succeeds. But the State Department has failed in this case, and perhaps it is fortunate. The United States has derived great benefits from past UN peacekeeping actions, even if the principle of collective financial responsibility has not been applied. The UN "umbrella" over US intervention in Korea; the UN force which has occupied the Gaza Strip since Suez; the UN Cyprus force which took over when all of NATO's horses and all of NATO's men could not keep the peace – each of these directly served US security interests. The principle of collective financial responsibility at no time figured in any of the initial decisions to act. "If the Russians have their way," said a recent *New York Times* editorial, "they will have the power to veto whenever a move toward international peace and security is proposed or authorized or financed." No doubt. But if the US had its way, would it really recreate the General Assembly in the image of a town meeting and agree to be taxed by the majority decisions of the house? No legal authority can prevent the Assembly from authorizing pretty much what it likes. Just as the Assembly authorized the Gaza Strip force after Russia vetoed the proposal in the Security Council, so it could authorize a peacekeeping operation in Vietnam or the Congo tomorrow over a US veto in the Security Council. What the Assembly patently cannot do, all legal arguments notwithstanding, is to make members pay for or participate in such operations if they want to opt out.

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The time has come to take the political crisis into which the UN has been plunged out of the mold of dramatic legal conflict and to save face for both the United States and Russia in the process. This will require the good offices of a third party, but the UN abounds in third parties. In fact the State Department has been suggesting for many months the establishment of a special finance committee of the Assembly, including on it representatives of the Security Council members, "to consider a number of alternative and flexible financing schemes" for future peacekeeping operations. This is a good idea; had such a committee existed in August, 1960, the whole course of the UN Congo operation might have been different. There is no better time to collect money than when the clients are desperate for your services. Indeed, such a committee or staff ought to be ready to administer future peacekeeping operations even before they are demanded by member governments, rather than after.

But the Article 19 dispute must be bypassed first. One way to save face would be for the United Nations to reimburse to member governments all past assessments which have been collected on the UNEF and UNOC accounts, against simultaneous pledges of equal voluntary contributions. It would be strictly a bookkeeping exercise; no money would change hands; no new money would be collected. And if this were done by act of the Assembly, there would no longer be an Article 19 issue before the house. The Russians and the Americans could each hold to their positions, without concession. Meanwhile, the United Nations could get underway again. The Secretary General would be free to receive voluntary contributions to pay off his outstanding debts (mostly to governments which supplied troops to the Congo – Sweden, Ireland, etc.). These voluntary contributions would not be earmarked for any special purpose but simply to defray expenses of the organization. Both Russia and the UN have indicated a willingness to make some such contributions once the Article 19 dispute is shelved. A fixed charge would remain in the UN budget for servicing outstanding bonds.

Objections to the Bayh Amendment

The problem of Presidential succession, more acute last year when there was no Vice President than it is now, but ignored then by the President and the congressional leadership, is at last receiving the attention it deserves. And the prospects are good that the related but separate problem of Presidential disability will soon be dealt with too.

The measure that seems virtually certain of being acted upon favorably by Congress is a constitutional amendment that a subcommittee headed by Senator Birch Bayh (D, Ind.) reported out last year. It provides that in the event of a vacancy in the office of Vice President (caused by his succession to the Presidency, or by his death in office), the President shall nominate a Vice President subject to confirmation by a majority vote of both Houses of Congress sitting separately. The amendment then addresses itself to the disability problem. It says that the Vice President shall assume power as Acting President whenever the President declares in writing that he is himself unable to discharge the duties of his office. If there is no such Presidential declaration, the Vice President, with the concurrence of a majority of the Cabinet or of "such other bodies as Congress may by law provide," may take power as Acting President, having so notified Congress. The President may resume exercise of his office by notifying Congress that he is no longer disabled. But if the Vice President (or Acting President, as he would then be) and a majority of the Cabinet or "such other body as Congress may by law provide" disagree with the President, they may so notify Congress within two days, whereupon Congress by two-thirds vote (presumably of each House acting separately) may "immediately decide" that the President in fact remains disabled, in which event the Vice President continues as Acting President.

Although its main line undoubtedly represents a broad and wise consensus, there are objections to Mr. Bayh's amendment. First, it is difficult to understand why no time is set – 30 days would seem reasonable – within which the President must nominate a new Vice President when a vacancy occurs. We saw, between November, 1963 and January, 1965, how and why a President might find it more convenient or comfortable

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to temporize. If he is not required to act within a given time, he is practically invited to delay.

Second, any satisfactory line of Presidential succession must meet two requirements. One is that party and policy continuity should be assured as far as possible, so as to keep faith with the result of the immediately preceding Presidential election. The other is that any successor should have a national mandate. The first requirement is met in the Bayh provision for nomination of a new Vice President by the President. But the proposed amendment slights the second requirement beyond what is necessary in order to satisfy the first. Confirmation of a single nominee is very likely to become routine, pretty much as Cabinet officers are routinely confirmed. That is an insufficient national mandate. Nothing in the way of the desired continuity would be lost if it were provided that the President should present a list of three names, from among whom Congress would then elect a new Vice President. This method would result in a surer sense of national choice.

Third, in its provision concerning disability, the proposed amendment leaves it open to Congress to create some sort of medical commission on Presidential disability, but it expressly gives the main role to the Cabinet. A medical commission, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, with members serving staggered six-year terms, should be explicitly provided for, exist continuously as a responsible organ of government, and be available to help the Vice President, the Congress and the Cabinet in the discharge of their unpleasant duty. The advice of doctors is, of course, certain to be sought. It would help to remove one source of unease and suspicion for the doctors to have been picked beforehand, by the President himself and his predecessor, rather than for them to be called in at the time of crisis.

The chief objection to Mr. Bayh's proposal, however, is that it is a constitutional amendment rather than a statute. Congress has ample authority to legislate on the subject, as it has done in the past by various succession laws, including the one now on the books. Senator Bayh says that whether or not Congress is authorized to legislate, such structural arrangements are best ordered by constitutional amendment; their very inflexibility as constitutional provisions he deems an advantage. Yet no proposal – not the one before Congress, not the modifications suggested by various students of the subject, and not the three points listed above – no proposal embodies ultimate wisdom. The nature and capabilities of our institutions change in time. What seems wise and fitting today may seem misplaced and even silly a half-century hence. Constitution-making is tricky and dangerous business, and if avoidable, is best avoided.

Tax Credits for Education

Although the Administration's education bill is getting a pretty good reception in Congress, there is one potentially serious threat to its passage – Senator Ribicoff's (D, Conn.) proposal to give tax credits to parents with children in college. Critics say Ribicoff's plan, which has 34 co-sponsors, would cost the Treasury something like $1.3 billion a year; supporters say less, at least for fiscal 1965-66. No matter what the exact cost, its acceptance would substantially increase the $5.3 billion budget deficit now projected by the Administration. To avoid this Congress might feel obligated to water down, delay, or kill the Administration's education program, which is priced at $1.5 billion.

Ribicoff's proposal has political force in that it is addressed to influential middle-class parents instead of the less articulate, politically unorganized poor.

The proposal is not for a deduction from taxable income, but for a credit straight off one's tax bill. A taxpayer with a dependent in college would be able to subtract from his tax bill 75 percent of the first $200 he paid the college, 25 percent of the next $300, and 10 percent of the next $1,000. This formula is not going to help poor families who pay little or no income tax. What such families need is scholarship assistance of the kind proposed in the Administration's current higher education bill.

Even for middle-income families whom the bill is intended to help, benefits are likely to be temporary. College costs are going to keep rising, and the price of tuition will also rise as fast as the market will permit. If, for example, a college had been charging $1,500 for tuition and found that the cost to parents was reduced to $1,175, it would almost certainly push the price of tuition up to $1,825 within a year or two, putting on parents the same burden as before. What the Ribicoff proposal will do is provide colleges, especially private ones which rely heavily on tuition fees, with a badly needed subsidy. Perhaps they should have subsidies, but it would be better to provide them by giving generous scholarships to students now financially unable to attend college, rather than giving tax breaks to those already enrolled or to those whose parents can afford to carry them.

Drain on Dollars

The lure of gold drives men to madness and nations to distraction. In the last seven years, American gold reserves have dwindled by a third, while nervous economists tried to dam the flow with a number of small dikes: a tax on purchases of foreign securities, a decrease in foreign aid, a slight tightening of the

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money market, and a cut of the duty-free import allowance from $500 to $100. Nevertheless, the yearly balance-of-payments deficit had decreased little and in the last month of 1964 it opened perilously wide again.

In reaction, the Administration has considered still more partial solutions, apparently in the belief that enough placebos constitute a drug. As usual, the lobbyless individual consumer is the first to be tested, in this case by a rumored $100 – or some such figure – tax on foreign travel. Tourists leaving the US for points outside North America would have to purchase an exit visa at a date before departure; the expense and difficulty of the process hopefully would encourage some of the 2,000,000 Americans who yearly flee these shores to think twice about their trips. At the very least, it would cut down on their expenditures abroad – four less meals at the Tour d'Argent, a hotel in Bloomsbury instead of Claridge's, or second-class on a milk train instead of first on the *rapido* would probably do the trick. American tourists have been spending about $1.6 billion more each year than foreign tourists spend in the US, and elimination of the gap would cut the entire payments deficit by somewhat more than half.

The trouble is that no one has the foggiest idea of how much discouragement the tourist tax would offer. Statistics on individual travel expenditures are devilishly hard to gather: no one yet has a clear idea of how much the reduced import allowance has helped. It is estimated that 1,000,000 of the 2,000,000 annual travelers spend $500 or less when they are overseas, plus an average of perhaps $400 on air or sea transportation (much of which, however, goes to American-flag carriers, and doesn't contribute to the deficit). It is presumably the poorer tourists – students, teachers, charter flight members – who will be most discouraged by the tax. If the country benefits from allowing its citizens to travel abroad, it is in the form of increased international understanding, cultural contacts, and social awareness. Those who are best disposed to gain will be most effectively prohibited from travel.

There are many other ideas that experts have broached to help eliminate the deficit. The existing tax on foreign stocks and bonds may be extended, a new tax may be applied to American bank loans made to foreigners, US investments abroad could otherwise be curbed, and military expenditures overseas might be cut. At bottom, though, all the proposed actions are palliatives, not cures. The payments deficit is a real and frightening problem. It inhibits freedom of action in the conduct of international trade and finance. A government economist says, "a debtor is a person who is restricted in what he can do. The chances are that his creditors are making policy for him. A debtor nation can't stand on its own feet." But it is not easy to see how flights of economic whimsy – taxes on tourists or cuts in import allowances – will remove the root causes of the crisis. Booming international trade is outstripping available gold reserves. There is really no surpassing reason for the use of gold in structuring world finance, and many economists believe that the only way to diminish the chronic deficit problem is to do away with gold altogether. For its replacement, international agreements could make the currencies of all trading nations convertible.

At that point, political considerations begin to outweigh financial ones, and convertibility looks as far away as disarmament. Meanwhile, one country's gain in gold is inevitably another's loss, in a sort of gigantic Monopoly game played on a world-size board.

Honor Bound to What?

The "code of honor" by which Air Force Academy cadets are supposed to live, and which, in AFA mythology, arises spontaneously among the student body, says: "We will not lie, cheat or steal, or tolerate among us anyone who does." If a cadet is aware of an infraction by another, he is honor bound to report it to authority. Eric Sevareid says: "In its obligation to snitch, the Academy code illustrates the choice between an institutional conscience, or one's natural conscience."

In mid-December a cadet allegedly stole the key to a locker which contained questions to be asked in a forthcoming examination. He copied the questions and recruited 10 "salesmen" who reportedly did a brisk business. A pair of freshmen, or "doolies," heard of this and finally decided that the code compelled them to report it.

Air Force special investigators from the Pentagon have ever since been grilling cadets, and will continue until sometime in February. So far, over 100 cadets have been "allowed to resign," and more are expected. Some reportedly will receive less than honorable discharges, others honorable but compulsory ones. All

COMING: *The Ghetto of Crime – Joan Colebrook on the South End of Boston*

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are ordered not to discuss their case with any but parents, clergy, or counsel – they are still under military regimen, since they have only resigned from the Academy, not from the Air Corps. Any who care to ask for court-martial may have it. They are offered Air Force counsel. Apparently none have chosen to face a military court so far.

Representative Stratton (D, N.Y.) has put part of the blame on overzealous recruiting for football, intimating that the Academy's high selection standards may bend a little for athletes, who may later have to resort to artificial props to keep them on their feet academically. The allegation will doubtless be examined by a "blue ribbon" committee, headed by former Air Force Chief of Staff General Thomas D. White, which has been set up to reassess the whole Academy program, possibly in an attempt to head off congressional investigation.

The 10-year-old institution at the foot of Pikes Peak has preened itself on offering a better and wider education than the other service academies; its stated goal is to prepare future generals, not mere flight officers. To do this, it crams five years' work into four, with a 10½-month academic year and a 16-hour day, and with almost every minute filled with instruction, study or hard exercise. Discipline is strict, but has permitted the hazing of "doolies." There is a chaplain for each major religious group and attendance at religious services in the Academy's 17-spire chapel is compulsory.

Academic standards have been high – the Academy boasts nine Rhodes scholarships in its few years, and other honors to match. Each entering class of less than 1,000 is screened from 40,000 applications, yet nearly one-third of entrants fail to graduate. No class is conducted by anyone with less than a master's degree, although most instructors are military. Congress has authorized increasing the student body to 4,400 as against the present 2,600, which will require some $30 million of additional construction. The Academy cost $140 million to build, and it receives $30 million a year from public funds.

The breakdown among these hard-driven boys, deprived of privacy or leisure, is seemingly in the link between social duty and personal friendship. American ethos has held in ill repute the man who tells on a friend (unless perhaps, the friend is a Communist). Even police despise the informer, though they use him. That puts a very severe strain on an honor system. But according to the dean of faculty, Brigadier General Robert F. McDermott, speaking to a Denver luncheon club, the code is not at fault: the present situation might never have been uncovered without it. He might have added that the alternative to self-policing in an academic institution is extended and distasteful snooping by outsiders.

Saving the Rivers From Resource Raiders

Senator Muskie's bill to get the nation's water pollution program away from the dawdling US Public Health Service and into the hands of a new assistant secretary at Health, Education and Welfare, has passed the Senate by an even grander margin (68-8) than it did last year, and is expected to be taken up shortly by the House. It died there in the Rules Committee last year; now Rep. John Blatnik, who will guide it through the maze, is said to feel more confident. The bill may be law by March 1. There are some 89 different interstate waterways where the government needs to bring abatement cases. It has acted so far in 34 instances. Once the program is sprung loose from the grasp of the timid Public Health Service doctors, one has every reason to hope the pace can be stepped up sharply.

But this legislation won't stop pollution before it happens. That is the difficulty on the St. Croix River, a clear stream that runs north between Minnesota and Wisconsin, not far from the rapidly expanding Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area. There, Northern

"Just Think – Once This Was Nothing But Raw Wilderness!"

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States Power Co. wants to build a large coal-fired power plant that would pollute the river. The plant would suck in great quantities of water, then spew it back, 15 degrees warmer. The plant has vigorous support among residents of Stillwater, Minn., near where it would be built, for they want added tax revenues to help pay the costs of schools. It is opposed by others, many living on the Wisconsin side of the river, who want the St. Croix saved for recreation. The Minnesota Water Pollution Control Commission must decide whether Northern States can go ahead and build. Its hearings are being delayed so that a federal-state task force can gather additional facts. Earl Ewald, president of the company, admits electricity rates would not go up if the plant were built instead on the nearby Mississippi River, which already is polluted. Even though the decision whether or not the power company is to build affects many people who live outside Minnesota, no federal mechanism exists to resolve the dispute. There is no federal requirement that a company which intends either to withdraw water from or dump sewage into an interstate stream, must first get government permission. To save the river from further exploitation, Senators Nelson of Wisconsin and Mondale of Minnesota, have jointly introduced a bill to make the broad lower stretches of the river into a national scenic waterway. But their measure would not prevent the Northern States Power Co. plant from being built on the St. Croix.

There *is* federal authority, however, for resolving the controversy over Consolidated Edison's proposed hydro-electric project on the face of Storm King Mountain in the Highlands of the Hudson. Authority resides with the Federal Power Commission which has not yet made its decision. The company insists it must have this plant because it cannot otherwise meet the electricity needs of New York City. Many of the people who live in the area claim the plant will ruin the beautiful Highlands. Nelson Rockefeller has declared himself in favor of the project. On the other hand, Richard Ottinger, a Democrat, last November won a congressional seat in usually Republican Westchester County in large part because he campaigned to save the Highlands and clean up the lower Hudson. He recently introduced a bill in the House to set aside as a national scenic waterway a length of river that includes the Highlands and runs from Newburgh to Yonkers.

What the AMA Really Fears

The main reason the American Medical Association is fighting medical care for the aged under Social Security is the AMA's fear of such a program spreading, and the fear that eventually a form of national health insurance, or socialized medicine, will be available for all in the US, as it is already in practically every nation in the Western world. Such a supposition is not groundless. Therefore, the propaganda mill and lobbies of the AMA constantly pump out a flow of nonsense about the national health program of Great Britain and other nations, which makes these programs appear impersonal state monoliths, lacking compassion and destroying all freedom of medical choice. Having lived in Britain for one year during which my wife underwent major surgery for a lung tumor, I am convinced that the only freedom lost under National Health is the freedom of the doctors and dentists to charge all that the traffic will bear. Let's look at some of the facts as we experienced them.

Carrying National Health Insurance in Great Britain is *not* compulsory, but 93 percent of the British people belong to it. Their medical costs are less and their care is more comprehensive than private insurance can offer. The average British family pays about $130 a year for complete accident, health and social security benefits; his employer pays about the same amount. For this, every Briton is guaranteed health and retirement benefits from birth to death.

How does the British National Health system work? It is as simple as, or even simpler than, our private plans. The family registers with a physician of its choice by filling out a card smaller than a postcard, for each member of the family. If a person wishes to change doctors, he merely goes to another doctor and fills out a new card. To select a dentist or an optometrist the procedure is approximately the same. Registration with the Bureau of National Insurance for social security and accident insurance is done only once in a lifetime. When a person goes to the doctor, he is examined, his illness is diagnosed and he receives a prescription that can be filled at any chemist's (drug store) for a fee of two shillings (28 cents), regardless of the quantity or type of the prescribed medicine. If one's illness requires a specialist, or hospitalization,

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the general practitioner suggests whom to see, and makes the arrangements.

The seriousness of the illness determines the type of surgeon or specialist he will recommend, about the same as it is here except that a patient's income is not considered. And this is a very important exception! In many cases it means the difference between adequate and inadequate care, and, yes, even life and death. For dental care each adult pays one pound ($2.80) for a series of visits, and he pays for glasses. Children and pensioners are exempt from all charges.

National Health has a great psychological advantage: a person need not worry about financial disaster because of medical costs. This cuts down nervous diseases and ulcers and is tremendous therapy while one is recovering from an illness. My wife's recovery was more rapid, I believe, because she didn't have to worry about depriving the family of valuable things by her illness. Although the British citizen pays about the same proportion of his income for health care and social security as we do, he has one tremendous advantage: he need never worry about being wiped out by an illness, as happens to many Americans every year.

All the advantages of National Health do not rest with the patient alone. The doctors, too, have some benefits worth mentioning, though many of them envy their American colleagues' higher earnings. Several British doctors told me that they can practice medicine the way it should be practiced. They can treat illnesses without regard to the ability of the patients to pay. The British doctor can refuse patients who are not really ill. Bright students can get their medical education free by means of scholarships. Doctors get compensation for practicing in sparsely populated or unattractive areas, so that British doctors are more evenly distributed than doctors are in America.

National Health in Great Britain has flaws. There is for instance an acute shortage of hospital space. But the government has launched a hospital-building program to provide sufficient modern hospital facilities in 10 years. (I doubt if our own shortage will be solved by 1975.) Sometimes petty red tape can cause anxiety, but most of the early faults in the system have been eliminated.

I regret spending more than $500 a year to meet the medical expenses of my normally healthy family, and getting no medical security in return for this expenditure. I also object to being told by the AMA, which is apparently controlled by those Chaucerian physicians who "lovede gold in special," that we shouldn't provide health care for our aged. I oppose any scheme of giving tax money to private insurance companies or to the Blue Cross, as these organizations rarely protest any increase in charges made by doctors or hospitals, probably because they are under the control of the doctors themselves. Although these organizations are supposed to be nonprofit institutions, one might question their huge executive salaries and expense accounts. With medical costs, drug prices and medical insurance rates all rising much faster than income, the American people are soon going to demand some form of health insurance which actually protects them.

William P. Keim

Mr. Keim, a Fulbright exchange teacher, spent the last school year teaching English at Langside College in Glasgow, Scotland.

New British Proposals

Halting the Spread Of Nuclear Weapons

From a Special Correspondent
London

The Labour government, inspired by the Minister for Disarmament, Lord Chalfont, has decided to put forward proposals on the non-dissemination of nuclear weapons for consideration by the 18-member conference on General and Complete Disarmament which was set up by the UN Assembly and is expected to convene sometime next month. Details of the British initiative are being worked out in Whitehall now with the aid of a number of experts from the universities of Leeds, Sussex, and Surrey. The US will be kept informed. The British are expected to give full support to American proposals for Geneva which have some salient features in common with the British plan, but London will go forward on its own if the American proposals come up against a blank wall.

Mr. Wilson's government gives first priority to a treaty of non-dissemination, under which the existing nuclear powers would pledge not to sell or to pass on nuclear weapons, and the non-nuclear powers would commit themselves not to make or acquire such weapons. If such a treaty, modeled on the present test ban treaty, proves impossible to achieve, the British are thinking of a general "non-acquisition declaration" which all states will be asked to sign. India and the Middle East are the main preoccupations here. Such a declaration, though this is far from certain at present, could be buttressed by firm US-UK guarantees to non-nuclear powers that in the event of a nuclear attack, nuclear retaliation against the aggressor nation would be forthcoming.

Britain's next priority is the extension of the test

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ban treaty to cover underground tests. The real value of such a ban is that it would make it very difficult for non-nuclear powers to develop and test nuclear weapons, especially delivery systems. Such a treaty would reinforce a non-dissemination agreement. The British are somewhat more tolerant than the Americans about on-site inspections and control, provided the principle of verification itself is not abandoned. Their experts believe that it will not pay the Russians to cheat, and they are inclined to think that the recent big Soviet underground test lends support to that view. In order to retain the principle of verification, the British would like to challenge the Russians to prove the Soviet contention that Soviet installations detect every test made in the West, and that for this reason on-site inspection is not necessary. The Russian contention would be tested by the British or the Americans setting off an underground explosion in secret, and seeing if the Russians detect it.

Britain's third priority is a freeze on the production of delivery vehicles – rockets and missile carriers – an old demand of President de Gaulle. This is easier to verify than a freeze on the production of warheads themselves, which are small. The British are also willing to go further than President Johnson's proposal last year for a "bomber bonfire"; they are prepared to see more sophisticated equipment destroyed.

All these proposals are based on a vital political assumption that has, as yet, to be proved. It is that the Soviet side is ready to negotiate on these matters without China and France, and that Russia is as interested as Britain and the US in non-dissemination and an underground test ban.

It is further assumed, in British circles, that as a *quid pro quo* for progress on non-dissemination, the Russians will insist on a formal pledge by the US and Britain to end the attempts to create either a multilateral force or an Atlantic nuclear force. This question will no doubt be explored by Prime Minister Harold Wilson when he meets with the Soviet Foreign Minister in London on March 6. There is little doubt that Soviet counterproposals to new Anglo-American ones were discussed at length at the recent Warsaw meeting of Soviet bloc political and military leaders, and that decisions were taken there also on counter measures should a multilateral force or an Atlantic nuclear force be set up. The Czech and Polish leaders are reliably reported to have obtained a Soviet pledge to set up an integrated nuclear force of the Warsaw pact nations. And Soviet sources have let it be known that in that event, the East German government would be a partner in such a force. It would not be possible to discriminate against the East Germans, it is explained, if NATO powers include the West Germans in any integrated nuclear force.

Such a development would introduce a new element in the German political situation and is obviously meant to do just that. For the onus of having helped create German nuclear or nuclear link forces on either side of the Great Divide running through Germany would be on the shoulders of Chancellor Erhard's government, and the burden of that allegation would be his to carry in an election year.

The prospects of disarmament, such as they are, are thus linked somberly with international politics, as they always have been.

Russia's Stake in Vietnam

by Roger Morris

Russia's new prime minister, Aleksei N. Kosygin, is visiting Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, and also Peking. This connects with new expressions of Soviet interest in a meeting between Kosygin and President Johnson. The Russians may be hoping to regain their dwindling influence in Southeast Asia by negotiating a settlement of the Vietnamese fighting that will get the Americans out without getting the Chinese further in.

No meaningful settlement is possible in Southeast Asia without the commitment of the Soviet Union. However we may judge the dominance or hostility of the Chinese, Moscow continues to have a stake in the politics of this strategic periphery. The moment may well be right to encourage the Soviets to become

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engagé once more in an area they have temporarily and unwillingly left to Peking. There is reason to believe that the redemption of some kind of status quo, in Indochina at least, is in Russia's interest as well as ours.

By now, of course, there simply is no easy way out of the political-military impasse in Vietnam. But looking backward at the Geneva conference of 1954, of which Russia and Britain were co-chairmen, offers an interesting point of reference for the possibilities which do remain. The agreement which originally divided Indochina was obviously an imperfect solution. It did, however, provide a brief respite in which we might grapple with the problems of political and social reconstruction which had to be solved if Communism was to be contained in Asia. Unfortunately, the lessons were not well-learned; we are paying the inevitable price in Saigon. One is allowed to hope, though, that if diplomacy were to grant another reprieve similar to that obtained ten years ago the time would not be so misused. This would be the essential promise for the West if there were to be Soviet sponsorship of a new Geneva. In some cases, the realities of power which made the earlier settlement advantageous to Russia are still with us. These parallels, along with the new elements which fortify Moscow's interest in a *démarche*, are surely worth noting.

Russia's Asian Strategy

Today, as when Molotov went to Geneva in 1954, the Soviet leadership is caught in the uncertainties of a succession crisis. The rigidities of Stalin contrast sharply with Khrushchev's style of rule, but the logic of change in terms of foreign policy is apparently much the same. In times of flux and indistinct authority at home, relaxation or even *detente* abroad have been recurrent themes in Soviet diplomacy. Crucial agreements on Austria and Indochina, as well as a more conciliatory stance toward the uncommitted world, all emerged while the struggle for Stalin's mantle was still raging.

The readiness of the post-Khrushchev leadership to follow such a course of mutual accommodation is yet to be tested. But in Asia, the realities which prompted Soviet action a decade ago are even more clearly defined now. The forms and intensity of the rivalry with China have changed, but the basic strategic fact is unaltered: Chinese expansion in Southeast Asia, under any guise, does not serve the goals of Soviet foreign policy either in that region or in the world at large. In 1954 Mao's challenge to Soviet direction of the revolutionary impulse was incipient; now it is open and increasingly successful. Moreover, the North Vietnamese still prefer a sponsor more distant than Peking. Ten years have not erased ethnic and national hatred of the Chinese on both sides of the seventeenth parallel. Ho-Chi-Minh and his successors will always have compelling reasons, rooted in sentiment, ambition, and economics, for pursuing total power in Indochina – but *not* at the price of Chinese domination. We should not forget that as late as 1960, when the Sino-Soviet conflict was already an established fact in Communist capitals, Hanoi chose to side with the Russians over the major ideological dispute on the inevitability of war. Only under the manifold pressures of an open split have the Vietnamese supported China. No doubt there is an appreciation in Moscow that this decision was, in part, the result of geography and that it remains qualified by an instinctive anti-Chinese sentiment among the North Vietnamese.

Finally, Vietnam has now become, as it was in 1953-54, a most serious and immediate threat to world peace. Then, as the desperation of the French mounted in the months before Dien Bien Phu, all-out American aid and a consequent escalation of the war seemed quite likely. Ample evidence appeared in the Soviet press at the time that this risk weighed heavily in the Kremlin's view of the situation. And now it is hard to imagine a more distressing circumstance for the new Russian leadership than possible involvement in total war over a secondary front where they exert virtually no control.

This, then, is the general context in which Soviet policy operates in Southeast Asia. Unpropitious competition with China necessitates decisive action; potential influence with North Vietnam allows it. The succession crisis makes an agreement with the West more attractive; the danger that a brush-fire war will spread beyond safe limits may make it imperative.

What is Russia's principal strategy in Asia? In 1954 the tenets of policy were newly formulated, though solidly enough to dictate a halt to overt forms of military subversion. Reliance on *internal* evolution, rather than force of arms, became the basis of a long-term investment of Soviet aid and good will throughout the underdeveloped world. This, after all, has been near the center of the dispute with Peking. And, if the reassurances of continued military aid to India are to be believed, the new Russian leaders have not discarded this policy. The hopes for a gradual, peaceful adhesion to the Soviet sphere from Southeast Asia center not upon Indochina but Burma. When I was in Moscow during 1963-64, there was genuine optimism, among those who shape doctrine, that the dialectic was about to come to fruition in Burma. But the Russians know too that they are banking on a neutralism and sympathy which are still delicate. The hovering presence of an aggressive China, the relentless thrust into Vietnam, may only awaken an anti-Communist national-

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ism in Asia which would nullify Soviet expectations, however carefully they are nurtured. As in the Sino-Indian border conflict, Moscow is playing for higher stakes than Peking cares to recognize.

There is one more fascinating parallel to the first Geneva settlement. The exhausting French embroilment in Indochina was constantly linked in Soviet rhetoric to the attempts to erect the European Defense Community. Appeals to French nationalism and fears of German military resurgence were used as levers to pry France out of the colonial struggle. It was more than coincidence that the Soviets came to Geneva *after* it was clear that proposals for the EDC would prove abortive. Europe remains the central concern of Soviet foreign policy. For the Russians at least, the line of *Realpolitik* between Saigon and Paris or Bonn is clear. As the Multilateral Nuclear Force flounders and new approaches to East-West accommodation are explored, we should not ignore this connection either.

We cannot be sure of the shape of a new Soviet involvement in Southeast Asia. Certainly Russia is not without resources, including massive economic aid to impoverished North Vietnam and pressure on China. We simply do not know the price of reconciliation with Peking. If we are willing to commit a slight heresy ourselves, in order to avoid military and political debacle, there is even the possibility of US-Soviet cooperation in offering diplomatic recognition and United Nations membership to the Chinese as part of the package. What is more apparent is that the Soviets are quite aware that events are reaching a climax in Vietnam. The official press is once again giving attention to a "revolutionary struggle" which it had conspicuously slighted during the last two years of Khrushchev's rule.

To recognize that the two super powers, Russia and the US, have certain "mutual interests" is now a cliché. Vietnam may offer the chance to apply the ironies of this relationship in a concrete way. The circumstance is not as tidy or uncomplicated or painless as we might have hoped. The fact remains, however, that in our discomfort at events in Vietnam we are not alone. The road out of our hazardous position in Vietnam may end ultimately in Peking; but there is little to lose, and perhaps much to gain, by stopping in Moscow along the way.

Johnson's Model City

The Poverty Program in Washington

by James Ridgeway

The President means to make the nation's capital into a model city of his Great Society. It will be a tricky piece of business even for him.

The affairs of the District of Columbia are managed by a congressional committee controlled by racist Democrats and Republican conservatives who have steadfastly opposed every measure of social progress achieved elsewhere during the 20th Century. Mr. Johnson's charm with the rest of the legislature apparently leaves them unmoved. He sent over a request for District home rule, as well as for a larger budget for the District; the first reaction of Mr. McMillan, who leads the House District Committee, when he heard about the budget request, was that it was a document unfit for consideration in his hearing room.

Inevitably this leaves the local poverty program pretty much alone to make a model out of a mess the Neanderthal governors of the District won't touch. This endeavor is to be administered by the United Planning Organization, a non-profit group, that has been given about $3 million in federal poverty funds to ameliorate the conditions of the poor, most of them Negro. UPO's first target is the Cardozo area, an appalling spread of Negro slums adjacent to the central business section of Washington, where the pressing needs are for better housing and jobs.

Although the Washington metropolitan area is going through an apartment building boom, it is largely confined to middle income efficiency or one bedroom apartments that are beyond the price range of the

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poor and too small anyway. Moreover, many of these apartments are located outside the District, in Maryland and Virginia where Negroes would be precluded since neither state has a fair housing law. Urban renewal along with the private renovation of rundown neighborhoods runs the Negroes back into the slums. Real estate speculation in Washington is not restricted to nasty slumlords. It is fast becoming a way for young men who work as assistants to congressmen to make a killing; investing in real estate can be more profitable than playing the stock market. There are 6,000 families waiting in line for public housing; estimates indicate that public housing is needed for 40,000 families. At present, 8,000 public housing units are in operation; 750 more are being built, far too few.

More Rats than People

Unemployment for the greater metropolitan area stands at 2.2 percent, low by US standards. But it is a misleading figure. In the Cardozo area, unemployment stands at 5.3 percent among men. The pattern is similar in other rundown sections of the city. Most of these unemployed are unskilled. The largest employer in Washington is the federal government which offers a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour. Most private business is in the service end of the economy. Restaurants, for example, are a primary source of employment. Recently a man worked 60 hours in one week in a DC restaurant. He made $27.80. There is no minimum wage for men, privately employed in the District; nor is there one in either Maryland or Virginia. Carl Shipley, chairman of the DC Republican Committee, brightly argues that it is a good thing none exists. If it did, Washington employers would be put at a competitive disadvantage with their neighbors in surrounding states.

Many Negroes make about $45 a week, which is not enough to support their large families. But since they are able-bodied and hold some job – no matter what the pay – the Welfare Department will not give their families financial aid. So the men often leave their wives and children; then the women can apply for and get welfare assistance. Should welfare inspectors find them living with the women, the payments are stopped.

Part of the welfare allotment is for rent. But it is based on rents 10 years ago, which were much lower than they now are. This means the family must take money for food to help pay the rent. Not long ago a woman with nine children on welfare moved into a house that rented for $200 a month. The rent portion of her welfare payment came to $76 a month. She could have got in a 21-year-old nephew who had a good job and let a room to him to help pay the rent. But welfare rules prohibit her drawing relief with this man in the house.

Any sort of outside income – support money from a husband, or a youngster's newspaper route profits – are deducted from the total welfare check. In other words, having broken up the family, the welfare system penalizes anyone who seeks to lift himself by his own bootstraps. Of course, the welfare workers seek to rehabilitate the mothers with large families so that they can become maids in Georgetown. The system produces exactly what one might expect: a third generation of welfare recipients.

The inner city of Washington is filthy. The city is supposed to collect trash twice a week, but often it doesn't get around to doing so. Rats thrive on the garbage. There are more rats in Washington than there are people. These long sleek creatures are to be seen at dusk climbing into an overflowing garbage can. Where I used to live they ran back and forth across the kitchen while we ate. At night they gnawed at the bedroom door to get in. The Washington *Daily News* recently reported that rat bite cases are on the increase. It tells the story of a Negro woman who was awakened in the middle of the night by her baby's screams. She turned on the light in time to see a rat running across the floor, and when she rushed over to the child she found its foot bleeding from the bite.

Rev. Geno Baroni is assistant pastor of Ss. Paul and Augustine Catholic parish in the Cardozo area. Last week was the first of the month, and he was busy coping with some of the problems of his parish. A one-legged woman with her two children was about to be evicted for failure to pay rent. Five or six other families soon were to be put in the streets. A woman was looking around for food. Her welfare check hadn't come and the children hadn't eaten for a couple of days. It was not uncommon, Father Baroni said, for children in his neighborhood to exist on a diet of soda pop, candy bars or potato chips. A woman who could not get milk to feed her baby filled its bottle with water instead. A little boy had been running around with a piece of his finger bitten off by a rat. Not long ago a 10-year-old boy was sent to the sanitarium with TB. Surplus food was available for the poor at odd times and at only two places in the city. The old people had difficulty getting there and carrying it back. Recently a dead baby turned up in a trash can on the corner; another had been wrapped in a pillow case and left in the school yard.

James Banks, executive director of UPO, makes it clear that the local poverty war is not an extension of the welfare program. He believes accounts of actual starvation in the city slums are somewhat exaggerated. He says that he has had 15 years experience in working in the worst slums of the District, and "I've never

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seen a person starving in this town." In effect, Banks's view is that the poverty program can help the poor help themselves: "We've got to let the poor people say what they want and then help them do it." How?

In the Cardozo area, UPO will open and staff three neighborhood development centers – in effect, field headquarters for youth workers, doctors, welfare workers, housing advisors. Lawyers will be located nearby to help defend poor people who often are abused by landlords and deeply in debt to loan sharks. Credit unions will be begun; birth control centers are to be started and consumer affairs people will help neighborhood women buy where the food is cheap and good. They will look into the pricing practices of the stores that sell in these neighborhoods. An employment counselor will work out of the center. A model school program will offer more intensive remedial education than is now provided, and open several preschools. One of these centers is open, but won't be in full operation until mid-March when the first 23 "indigenous workers" will have completed their training. These workers are the focal point of the whole program, for they must wake up the blocks, and reorganize them to take advantage of the services provided by the poverty program. They certainly ought to help a lot of people who now are fumbling about, unsure of where or how to get help.

But the people in these blocks are first going to want to know about better housing and jobs. And here the local poverty war promises slim pickings.

Although the need for low-income housing is literally desperate, any real alleviation must await action by the White House and then by Congress. "We're holding the line until something massive comes along from the government," says Banks. What that might be is anybody's guess. Meanwhile, the UPO program is meager. The Washington Planning and Housing Association, a non-profit organization, got $67,000 from UPO to work up an inventory of low-income housing; and it will try to persuade landlords to voluntarily bring their buildings up to standards set out in the housing code. But since many of these homes are crowded far beyond their legal capacities, this is likely to mean fixing up one house for one family and kicking out two others camped in the attic and basement.

Recently the WPHA persuaded a landlord who usually refused to deal with welfare recipients to break her practice and rent a renovated house to a woman with nine children for $125 a month. That sounded fine, but the woman couldn't afford that much, and no sooner had she moved in than she invited two other families to join her to help pay the rent. Once more, the facilities are strained; the place is a mess, and the building inspectors are clamoring to get them all out.

Perhaps the most useful thing Washington Planning and Housing Association can do, is to find tenants threatened with eviction notices and see to it that attorneys from the legal aid section defend them in Landlord and Tenant Court where the eviction orders originate. As it operates at present, this court is an instrument of the landlords who can evict pretty much at will since the tenants usually are not defended.

Citizens for Better Housing, an affiliate of WPHA, is working on a poverty program grant of $42,000 to organize non-profit community groups in Cardozo and elsewhere in the District so they may qualify under a special Federal Housing Administration program to borrow mortgage money at below market rates for purchases and rehabilitation of existing dwellings. (The FHA insures such mortgages, thereby reducing their costs.) The savings secured through cheaper mortgages would be passed along to tenants in the form of spruced up buildings at no higher rents. This program is meant for lower middle class people – a three bedroom apartment would rent for $85-$100 a month. And at any rate the volume of dwellings renewed, 200 at the very most, won't be much help. And even here, the going is tricky. Building sites in the District are scarce, and land values are climbing all the time. Property in Cardozo, close to the center of the city, is sensitive to every market shift. Housing inspectors are making too much trouble for city realtors, who are said to be increasingly unloading their property to out-of-town speculators. Citizens for Better Housing provides the technical assistance for community groups and can do the buying for them. It doesn't buy under its own name, but it fears that once speculators get wind of what's up, prices will go even higher; and the money saved from FHA insured mortgages will be lost in paying a higher market price.

Restructuring Jobs

UPO's plans for finding jobs for the 40,000 unemployed or underemployed in the inner city of Washington are a trifle more expansive. Meetings between the organization and Civil Service Commission have been going forward in an effort to discover work for the unskilled, who, of course, hopefully could be trained for progressively more advanced work. However the unskilled job market is tight now; the Commission forecasts the market's continuing decline along with an increase in white collar openings. It has offered UPO no assurances whatever of more unskilled jobs, but it is interested in UPO's plan to work up a job restructuring program whereby some relatively complicated white collar jobs might be broken down, and their less skilled parts combined to make unskilled or semi-skilled work. For instance, the drafting and statistical functions now part of the job of an engineer,

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might be broken away to create a new job. In effect, this would mean more jobs at lower skill levels and fewer at higher levels.

In his State of the Union message, the President said he looked forward to the day all the roadsides would be blossoming with flowers. These words raised hopes at the UPO, where people have been busily consulting leaders of the landscape industry along with officials of the Commerce Department to see what might be done to start a landscape firm. Such a firm could hire large numbers of low-skilled or unskilled people who could work outside in the spring and summer fixing up the sides of public roads; during the late fall and winter the work might go indoors, where garden decorations of various sorts could be manufactured and then profitably sold. But the landscape business was tried before in Washington and left many people with a bad taste in their mouths. Last year the Labor Department undertook to train 40 or so high school dropouts as landscape technicians. Apparently no one took much pains in advance to see whether such jobs actually did exist; at any rate, none of the boys ever got jobs landscaping and the program was abruptly cancelled. The dropouts were found lower paying jobs elsewhere.

Another employment scheme put forward by UPO comes from the Small Business Development Center, an endeavor financed by the Small Business Administration to help little businesses. It wants to form a maintenance corporation which could employ perhaps 500 hard core unemployed cleaning up buildings. Companies are finding it cheaper to contract out maintenance work. So is the government. Indeed, one reason the market for unskilled labor within the government is becoming so tight is that defense agencies that once employed civilian maintenance and kitchen help now are firing them all, and replacing them with either soldiers or contractors. In fact, UPO has been invited to bid on one such contract. Labor unions tell sad tales of women who have worked for the government faithfully for 15 years only to be fired so that a contractor can get their jobs. Is one truck load of poor to replace another?

Meanwhile, proposals put forward by UPO to the Labor Department to tackle hard core unemployment by finding jobs for 5,000 people have been held up since early last fall in a bureaucratic squabble. The Labor Department must provide the money for the job development, as it is called. UPO accuses the department of harassing it needlessly; the department says UPO job proposals are vague and badly drawn up. The United States Employment Service gets into the act because it doesn't like UPO's idea for starting an information system which could spread job information from the entire metropolitan area down to the neighborhoods. By implication it suggests the US Employment Service isn't doing a very good job, which is probably correct.

Some of the other UPO projects are a little harebrained. One proposal would give more than $200,000 to WETA, the educational television station, to begin a Neighborhood Show (modeled after the Today Show) for the poor, providing them with all sorts of odds and ends of consumer information, hot job tips, and their own talent shows. The trouble with this is that WETA broadcasts on an ultra-high frequency few can get. It proposes to remedy this by buying 50 specially equipped sets and sprinkling them about the target area, in store fronts and bars.

Actors Equity Association would like to get some money for a task force study of the target area in hopes of bringing "quality theater to a deprived community for the purpose of audience development and first-step career training."

The Horatio Alger Approach

As the UPO goes its way, it is attacked on the one hand by the planning and training set which doesn't feel there is enough of that; and on the other hand by the Action Now set, who believe there is far too much planning and training. Some neighborhood groups are sore because UPO didn't work through them; the "black bourgeoisie" is said to feel leery of the whole thing because they don't care to be drowned in any sudden elevation of the masses immediately beneath them. The welfare workers are getting angry because UPO already is pushing off the hard core unemployment cases on to them. The poor are wary for fear the whole thing is just another trick. White revolutionaries feel they are being made tools of "the system"; black revolutionaries believe they are being made tools of the white man. And white liberal ladies, mistakenly thinking UPO is a new charity, deluge the place with calls to see how they can help out.

Actually all the poverty program in Washington looks like is a Do-It-Yourself Horatio Alger kit, whereby the poor who are strong enough get a leg up into the lower middle classes where they will be a bit less exploited. It seems like tame stuff.

The field generals at UPO caution against such dismal conclusions. Some of them say the war on poverty really is a clever maneuver to get the Establishment around to financing a social revolution; the revolution will take place when the poor are aroused to demand more than the Establishment appears prepared to give them. This is a curious idea. We simply must wait and see what happens when the "indigenous workers" awaken the squalid blocks of Cardozo. Then, perhaps, we'll know whether the President means business.

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Children of the Poppy

by Herbert S. Peyser, M.D.

It does not take long for a psychiatrist to conclude that man's nervous system and the world with which it must deal are not well suited to each other. Unlike lower animals, man is unable to take life as it comes and to accept the moment for itself. He is unsatisfied and filled with a restlessness which drives him into powerful diversions of interest – interests of an intellectual, spiritual, aesthetic, occupational, emotional, or sensual nature. Yet even these often prove unsatisfactory and from time to time he resorts to drugs to alter the biochemical anatomy of his nervous apparatus in an effort to make reality more bearable.

The Addict And The Law
by Alfred R. Lindesmith
(Indiana; $7.50)
The Tunnel Back: Synanon
by Lewis Yablonsky
(Macmillan; $6.95)

Some of these drugs excite, stimulate, or cause elation; some block off internal inhibiting influences; others blunt perception of external stimuli and permit the freer range of personal fantasy; still others transport a man, or so it may seem to him, into another and better world of a toxic psychosis with him in the center. "Where there's dope, there's hope."

As long as he can freely choose to indulge or not, as long as he is on top of the situation, there is no danger. Should, however, the channels for diversion of interest be closed, partially or completely, either by internal and psychological factors (*e.g.*, inhibitions blocking his strivings or diminished ability to tolerate tension and frustration), or by external factors (*e.g.*, sociological, where the social organization excludes him and provides no structure for accomplishments and gratifications of strivings) – should this happen he may be impelled all the more strongly in the direction of drugs. He may not be able to live without them, becoming an addict. The consequences of addiction and two quite different suggestions for coping with it are the subjects of Alfred Lindesmith's and Lewis Yablonsky's new books.

What was just described was addiction in the broader sense. (And in this sense one could be a food addict or love addict instead of a drug addict.) People driven in this direction drive against the opposition of culture, especially a puritanical culture. It almost seems as if the more effective the drug, the more socially proscribed – as though culture jealously opposes the withdrawal of energies from its purposes to the individual's own.

Some drugs – such as alcohol, barbiturate sleeping pills, and heroin and other opiates – so affect the body chemistry that they become physically necessary. This is addiction in the more specific sense and it is characterized by a need for increasing amounts to cause the same effect and by the development of a set of symptoms when the drug is suddenly stopped. Oddly enough the withdrawal from heroin and the other opiates is not as severe as that from alcohol or the barbiturates where there can be delirium, convulsions, coma and even death. Yet it is the addiction to heroin and the opiates which is of primary social concern today as both of these books testify, and medicine and psychiatry have had little to offer in the way of effective treatment.

The mere availability of drugs can convert many, ordinarily non-users, into addiction. (This is the reason for the high incidence of addicts among physicians and nurses as opposed to other occupations.) Professor Lindesmith describes how, before the turn of the century when opiates were sold freely in patent medicines and legally imported drugs, there were addicts aplenty in the US. Then the government began to intervene. With the Harrison Act of 1914 repressive techniques became more prominent, and the distribution of drugs shifted to the hands of the underworld. The latest development has been the emergence of large, restless, deprived social groups in the city who turned to drugs in great quantities for solution of their problems.

The increasing availability of drugs has continued to spread their use, and repressive police techniques have failed to prevent this. They may have contained it a bit – one cannot say. Yet the problem, as Lindesmith so carefully documents, has grown, and the progressive wing of the middle class has come up with a new approach. They see the demon in the Federal Narcotics Bureau and the solution in the adoption of "the British system": the addict is ill; give him the drugs through his doctor and thereby end the illicit drug trade with its evil consequences – men driven into crime and women into prostitution to pay for the ever increasing cost of the heroin.

Lindesmith's book restates this position clearly and in a reasoned, humane, and yet impassioned manner. He knows a great deal about the law – both in the theory and in the dirty details of its practice – and he demonstrates its inefficacy. However, despite his good case for medical handling of the situation, I would like to run a bit counter to a strong trend and suggest that if this solution were applied generally, a new set of deep problems would arise.

First – are addicts ill? When they are not in the acute physiologically addicted state, when they are detoxified and yet seek the drug again, or seek it in the first place, they are not *physically* ill. Except for a few sufferers from chronic organic diseases with intractable pain, there is no physical disease causing addiction. There are only a few who are ill in the sense of the older definition of psychological illness – that of mental illness or psychosis,

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where there is felt to be a disorder of the thinking or feeling machinery of the mind. (This 19th-Century concept has to be mentioned for it still exists in many areas of medicine, psychiatry, and the law.)

The 20th-Century conception of psychological illness – emotional illness or neurosis – implies internal disunity and conflict, a struggle between one's inner desires and the internal inhibiting forces which, blocking their release and accomplishment, forces one into symptoms or substitutive gratifications. Maintenance drug distribution might be useful here and there are large numbers of this kind of addict.

But they are not all. There are those who are primarily symptoms of a sociological "disease," who live in a society which gives them no chance for release and gratification of their desires; their strivings are blocked not by internal factors of inhibition, but by these external factors. To dole out to these people opium may be to give medicine a fundamentally immoral task – maintaining distressed people in distress by drugs. If religion is accused of being an "opiate of the masses," what then would opium be? – opium which so deprives a man of will and drive that, as one of its side effects, it is believed to be the single main cause for the dissolution of gangs and collapse of gang warfare in New York City – opium instead of civil rights and self respect. It is interesting to note how HARYOU-ACT, Mobilization for Youth, and the other social agencies do not push for a medical "British system." They push for the eradication of addiction by changing the sociological predisposition to it.

Those who point to the "British system," such as Professor Lindesmith, fail, I think, to distinguish between the primarily psychological and the primarily sociological addict. The British have almost no addict problem because they have almost no addicts – only about 500 (just as they had no race problem when there were no Negroes). These are psychological addicts, relatively few in number, easily tolerated, and easily handled as ill people. It will be interesting to see what happens when the sociological basis for an addiction problem develops there.

Inasmuch as sociological addiction is tied up with cultural alienation and antisocial feelings, distribution through physicians will present many new problems, such as a tendency to debase the profession and to lead to exploitation of the addicts by the doctors, increased availability of drugs to and the condoning of their use in a predisposed segment of the population, and deep problems of supervision and coordination of drug distribution.

In the face of this, it is particularly interesting to see that these recommendations for a "medical" approach come from *outside* the population of addicted and addictable. From the addicts themselves come the exact opposite – Narcotics Anonymous and Synanon, the latter described in Yablonsky's book. Synanon, a few small communities of ex-addicts, has grown out of Alcoholics Anonymous and, despite its protestations, is basically similar in its adoption of a kind of fundamentalist Protestant approach wherein any drug is regarded as evil and is rigidly proscribed. Addicts being less socially oriented and socially influenceable than alcoholics – in general – a more immediate and direct approach is required. Yablonsky shows how they live and work together in this voluntary, yet autocratic, communal setup which is dominated by and deeply reflects the personality of its founder, Charles Dederich. Religion plays a lesser role than in AA, but in essence they resemble one another. The addicts here are united in a kind of residential group therapy, fighting the evil together by themselves, without professional help.

Yablonsky's book is a bit wild and fervent, a popularizing exposition of Synanon, and as such tells us a good deal about this organization. But it does so in a somewhat naïve, journalistic, and two dimensional way, not very convincing to a more scientific observer who is not already converted. Yablonsky idolizes Dederich and fills his book with case histories as told by the ex-addicts themselves to illustrate the structure, activities, and efficacy of Synanon.

One can hardly be against Synanon, but we will – despite Yablonsky's dislike of this attitude – have to wait and see what the results will be and whether Synanon can tolerate the increasing distance from its founder and guiding spirit. And at best it can be applicable only to a small number because of its voluntary nature.

There is no conclusion. Before we junk the police approach completely, we shall have to see the reports of some small experimental studies, well controlled and quietly conducted out of the glare of national attention; these will have to be undertaken in different sociological situations to test the hypotheses before we can be fully convinced of the conclusions suggested by either book, useful as their suggestions most definitely are. As for the drugs themselves, it is as a noted physician once said: "If all the medicines in the world were thrown into the ocean, it would be a good thing for mankind and a bad thing for the fish."

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Herbert S. Peyser *is a New York psychiatrist.* Raymond D. Senter *is the pseudonym of a well-known military analyst.* William A. Korns *is on the staff of* The Congressional Quarterly.

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The McNamara-Kennedy Doctrine

by Raymond D. Senter

Relatively few of the world's political and military leaders who control the revolutionary weapons of this thermonuclear-ballistic missile age, or aspire to, really understand that no mere logical extension of past diplomacy or principles of warfare is appropriate for their use. This is not surprising. The atomic bomb is only two decades old, the vastly more powerful thermonuclear weapon is only ten years of age, and the intercontinental ballistic missile that can strike anywhere on the globe in a matter of minutes was first tested little more than five years ago.

The Great Debate
Theories of Nuclear Strategy
by Raymond Aron
translated by Ernst Pawel
(Doubleday; $4.95)

The realities, subtleties and paradoxes of this new age generally are best understood by a small cluster of scientists, political and physical, whose voices are heard only faintly, if at all, in the top power echelons of most governments. The largest group of thermonuclear strategists is found in the US, probably because a nation must first possess the revolutionary new weapons to spark thoughtful analysis. With the advent of the Kennedy Administration, their theories began to reshape American policy.

In West Europe, where Gen. Charles de Gaulle's national ambitions are adding to the danger of nuclear power proliferation, it is encouraging to find a French political scientist-journalist, Raymond Aron, who understands many of the implications of the new power equations. His book, *The Great Debate – Theories of Nuclear Strategy*, is a translation of a work published in 1963 in an effort to explain current American strategic policy to his countrymen and to other West Europeans. This he does lucidly if sometimes pedantically. Generally he agrees with the wisdom of current American policy which he calls the "McNamara Doctrine" but which might more accurately be termed the "Kennedy Doctrine."

If Aron's book merely were an endorsement of American policy it would hardly merit consideration by US readers. But he also explains the nagging doubts that have been raised on the other side of the Atlantic by the seemingly drastic shift from the Eisenhower-Dulles policy of Massive Retaliation to one of Graduated Response under Kennedy-McNamara. Whether or not these doubts are justified, it is important for us to understand them if we are to grasp a major cause of dissension in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Because the strategy of Graduated Response was first enunciated in the early 1960's, after the Soviet Union had leaped to an early lead in intercontinental ballistic missiles which, for the first time, made the US homeland vulnerable, many West Europeans believe the new US strategy stems from fear. It seemed, Aron explains, to be "a subtle attempt to reduce the risk of involving the American mainland in nuclear devastation while exposing Europe to the destruction involved in a so-called conventional war." Judging from the several times that he repeats this argument throughout his book, without explaining the broader reasons for the change, it would appear that Aron shares this view.

Yet elsewhere Aron shows that he is not unaware that the old strategy, in which the US ostensibly reserved the right to drop nuclear bombs on the Soviet Union in the event of Communist incursions anywhere, no matter how small, had lost its credibility once the USSR had broken our near-monopoly on nuclear weapons and long-range weapons carriers. President Eisenhower already had begun to back away from Massive Retaliation in the late 1950's, for it was not invoked during the Hungarian revolt, during the initial Communist take-over in Cuba or in South Vietnam.

Perhaps West Europeans are not as aware of the declining effectiveness of the old doctrine because South Vietnam and Cuba are remote on their horizons, and because they do not bear US responsibilities for global peace-keeping.

Aron concedes "that the strategy of Graduated Response is best suited to both deterrence and use, always provided that those formulating it publicly make sure they put themselves in a position to practice what they preach." This is precisely what the US has been doing during the past four years and what has aroused West European fears. Our expansion of non-nuclear forces is intended to give the President a broad spectrum of military capabilities from which to select those that are tailored to the specific situation – hence the term "Graduated Response." Equally important, the new strategy is intended to reestablish the credibility of America's nuclear deterrent.

But some across the Atlantic, Aron apparently included, are worried that this may have weakened the restraining effect on the Soviet Union insofar as West Europe is concerned. This is ironic, as the author himself points out, because a decade ago West Europeans

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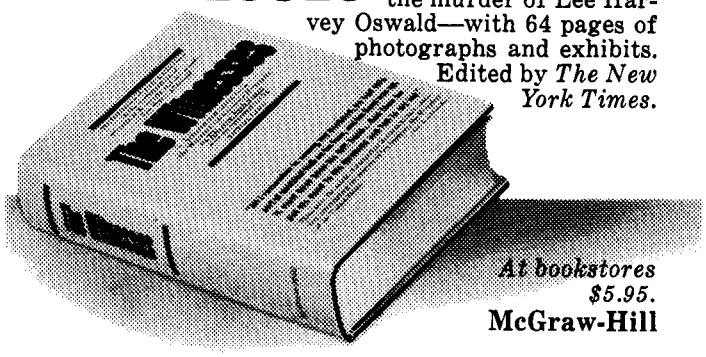

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feared that their nations might be turned into nuclear wastelands in the process of being defended. Now that we have come around to that point of view, they have switched to a "Semi-Massive Retaliation" viewpoint.

The author appears convinced that the use of tactical nuclear weapons in defense of West Europe, even without escalation into strategic bombing, would likely destroy much of what we all seek to defend. Despite this he believes the West should deter Soviet attack by threatening to use tactical atomic weapons. "This threat does not add substantially to the risk of their actual use . . . because use of these weapons is in any event highly probable and it may help to prevent a possible misunderstanding. . . ."

The American strategy, which seems more credible to me, is to have the tactical nuclear weapons ready for use, but to reserve judgment until a specific situation arises. Their very presence seems adequate to make a potential aggressor face up to the prospect of their being used.

Aron suggests that US officials are at least partially to blame for present West European fears. "Sometimes it seems as though preventing minor hostilities from automatically escalating is the only thing that matters to them."

The book is devastating when it appraises the military value of the independent French deterrent, the *force de frappe*, at least under the divisive tactics of de Gaulle. "The French doctrine of deterrence is a fatal rehash of the [US] massive retaliation concept, and it is a miniature version ten years behind the times." He grants that when France has developed and deployed a few dozen missiles in hardened sites and has a fleet of three submarines with Polaris-type missiles it may be able to exert some deterring effect on the Soviet Union. But it cannot achieve this capability until 1975 at the very earliest, he says.

Until that time, any attempt by France to use its fleet of Mirage IV bombers as a threat against the Soviet Union would convey "nothing but a convincing impression of its [France's] own insanity." Even in the late 1970's, with a hardened and mobile deterrent, the leaders of a relatively small country which risks nearly total annihilation can never be as resolute as those of a giant nation which merely faces losses, the author believes.

When proponents of the *force de frappe* argue that America would not risk destruction of its major cities to protect Berlin or West Europe, and that the latter needs its own deterrent in the form of the national French force, Aron asks if French leaders can be depended upon to risk annihilation of their own lands for the same non-French objectives.

Yet Aron argues that the *force de frappe* may be better than the arguments advanced by some of its more outspoken supporters. It adds another restraint to Soviet military adventurism and it lends prestige to France's diplomacy. It could also offer some insurance against being left defenseless if American isolationism should ever return. But as he points out, under the provocative policies of de Gaulle it could well inspire the very withdrawal of US nuclear protection which it claims to protect against:

> "Those who would like to see the Atlantic Alliance replaced by an alliance of the traditional type, with each member free to use atomic weapons as it sees fit and able to rely on automatic support from its allies, have simply failed to grasp the most elementary facts of the new diplomacy shaped by nuclear explosives."

The United States, which founded the nuclear club, required 15 years to develop a reasonably mature strategy both for nuclear diplomacy and for nuclear warfare. It is not surprising that the USSR, which entered the club five years after the US, has only recently begun to exhibit a similarly mature strategy. Unfortunately, it will probably require another 10-15 years for France and China to move out of their "nuclear adolescence." The educational process could be speeded if their political and military leaders would study *The Great Debate*. As Aron says in his introduction: "Nations must learn the art of using thermonuclear weapons on the diplomatic level in such a way that they will never have to use them on the military level. No one can . . . know all the subtleties of that art, but everyone must learn the rudiments of it."

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Reforming the House of Representatives

by William A. Korns

When the word went out in 1963 that Congressman Richard Bolling (D, Mo.) was writing a book about the House of Representatives, there was reason to anticipate something unusual. Although widely recognized as a progressive and shrewd student of politics, Bolling was better known as "Mr. Sam's man" – the eyes-and-ears, the confidant of Speaker Sam Rayburn until his death November 16, 1961. Rayburn, a five-footer who for years loomed 10 feet tall on the Washington horizon, was something of a mystery. As a favored and perceptive "insider," Bolling, it seemed fair to assume, could and would tell us what the Great Man was really like.

House Out of Order
by Richard Bolling
(Dutton; $4.95)

What the nine-term Representative from Kansas City has attempted, in *House Out of Order*, is something less and something more. In detailing the behind-the-scenes maneuvers that preceded passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill of 1959, and enlargement of the House Rules Committee in 1961, Bolling sheds considerable light on the Speaker's role and attitudes, yet confesses to surprise and bewilderment at Rayburn's decisions on more than one occasion. These instances, combined with several references that Bolling enjoyed something less than Rayburn's full confidence at times, suggest that there was more behind the Speaker's "façade of imperturbability and aloofness" than his lieutenant was able or willing to reveal.

But it is Bolling's assessment of Rayburn as Speaker, and the use to which he puts it to buttress his thesis for House reform, that merits close attention and should help to propagate the cause of Congressional modernization. During Rayburn's half-century in the House – and 16 years as Speaker, writes Bolling, "he accumulated a capital budget of personal influence that drew interest. As a result he often commanded decisive support in the House on major issues. His power was so personal, so immense that it masked the institutional frailties of the House in general, and the Speakership in particular. Rayburn knew it. Yet he did not attempt to remedy this condition when the opportunity arose."

That opportunity came in 1961 with a Democratic President and Congress. The House Rules Committee, on which Bolling had served since 1955, was effectively controlled by a six-member conservative coalition composed of Chairman Howard W. Smith (D, Va.), Rep. William Colmer (D, Miss.) and four Republicans. Barring some change, there was every prospect that much of John F. Kennedy's "New Frontier" program would wind up under lock and key in the Rules Committee. Yet the "reform" finally selected by Rayburn – and approved by a five-vote margin in the House – was the least effective of several possible changes. Enlargement of the Committee to 15 members gave the Administration a paper majority of 8-to-7, but left untouched the essentially untrammeled power of Smith and other House Committee chairmen to defy the majority leadership.

Rayburn was already ailing at the time, Bolling notes, but adds that "I have never really understood" his failure to make the most of an opportunity to "enable the majority party, his party, to carry out its legislative program." He concludes simply and "with chagrin" that Rayburn, "who stood on the floor on occasions to tell his colleagues, 'I love this House', lived so long within the institution that it tempered his dissatisfaction. He distrusted reform, and counseled the freshmen Members to accommodate themselves to the existing situation."

It is Bolling's view that the great Speakers of the House – Clay, Carlisle, Reed, Crisp, Cannon, and Longworth – wielded not only the great personal power that was Rayburn's too, but "enhanced the prestige of the Speakership itself," which Rayburn failed to do. Since his death, the "Speakership as an institution has atrophied." The remedy? Bolling, who makes clear that he is no great admirer of John McCormack as Speaker, points approvingly to the minority party: "Acting wholly and cohesively and understandably out of its [conservative] convictions, the Republican House leadership retains control of its members." The Democrats should and must do likewise, he says; only they can bring

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about the "drastic revision in the power structure of the House" that must precede the renaissance of an effective and responsible Congress.

Bolling's prescription, it should be noted, goes well beyond the changes effected in House rules by the Democratic Study Group when the 89th Congress convened this January. Vastly strengthened by the November elections, the liberal DSG was able to muster a majority within the Democratic caucus for a modified 21-day-rule and a similar safety valve respecting conferences with the Senate on bills in dispute. In essence, the new rules give the Speaker power to bypass the Rules Committee at his discretion, if necessary to bring committee-approved legislation to the floor or to send a House-passed bill to conference. Approved by a 189-71 vote of the 295-member Democratic majority, the new rules were effectively adopted by a 224-201 vote of the full House, with the help of 16 Republicans and 23 Southern Democrats. The DSG was also instrumental in changing party ratios on all but one House Committee, to reflect the enlarged Democratic majority, and in stripping two Southern Democrats who had openly supported Senator Goldwater for President of their committee seniority.

These recent and significant steps in the direction of party responsibility detract superficially from the timeliness of Congressman Bolling's book, which was complete before the election and somewhat delayed in publication. Examined in context, however, the reforms of January buttress the logic of Bolling's case for a frontal attack on the House power structure itself, which was largely untouched last month. Bolling's proposal (which he summarized briefly in *The New Republic* of November 21, 1964) is to give a Democratic Speaker exclusive power to nominate all the Democratic members of the Ways and Means Committee and the Rules Committee and their chairmen, subject to majority approval of the caucus. No other nominations would be in order; if his were rejected, he would offer other names. Those elected to Ways and Means would then nominate the entire Democratic membership of all other standing committees, subject to caucus approval. Finally, the Speaker would then nominate the chairman of each committee, with his selections again subject to confirmation by a majority of House Democrats.

It takes only a nodding acquaintance with the seniority system to grasp the revolution these procedures could effect. Seniority, Bolling maintains with good reason, would no doubt "remain as the method of selecting the great majority of committee members." But "the implied threat" that it might be set aside "would give pause to the Member who would bolt his party's program." And it would no longer be possible for the party's leaders "to pass the buck to the seniority system when declared party objectives failed or were consistently shelved," as has remorselessly befallen home rule for the District of Columbia.

Is it possible that Democrats – who have controlled the House for 28 of the past 32 years but never broken with the seniority system in that time – will come to this fundamental reform? Bolling (who, incidentally, ranks sixth on the Rules Committee while Wayne Aspinall of Colorado, who also entered the House in 1949, is chairman of the Interior Committee thanks to greater turnover, and three others of the same vintage occupy second rank on their committees) is hopeful. But like James McGregor Burns and others who have taken up the cause of Congressional reform in recent times, Bolling fears that little will happen "unless a Democratic President decides to use his full powers as party leader and party spokesman to help bring about the necessary change."

House Out of Order touches only lightly on the career of Lyndon Johnson as Senate Majority Leader (as in ascribing to "the Johnson hustle" Rayburn's loss of 16 Texas votes on the Landrum-Griffin issue) and not at all on his role as President. Burns, in *The Deadlock of Democracy*, put great store by President Kennedy's potential capacity to sound the clarion call, but it never came. Writing in the same Nov. 21 issue of the *NR* as Bolling, Prof. Edward A. Kolodziej of the University of Virginia argued that "the legacy of a modernized Congress would be Johnson's most historic achievement, transcending in stature the specific pieces of legislation that

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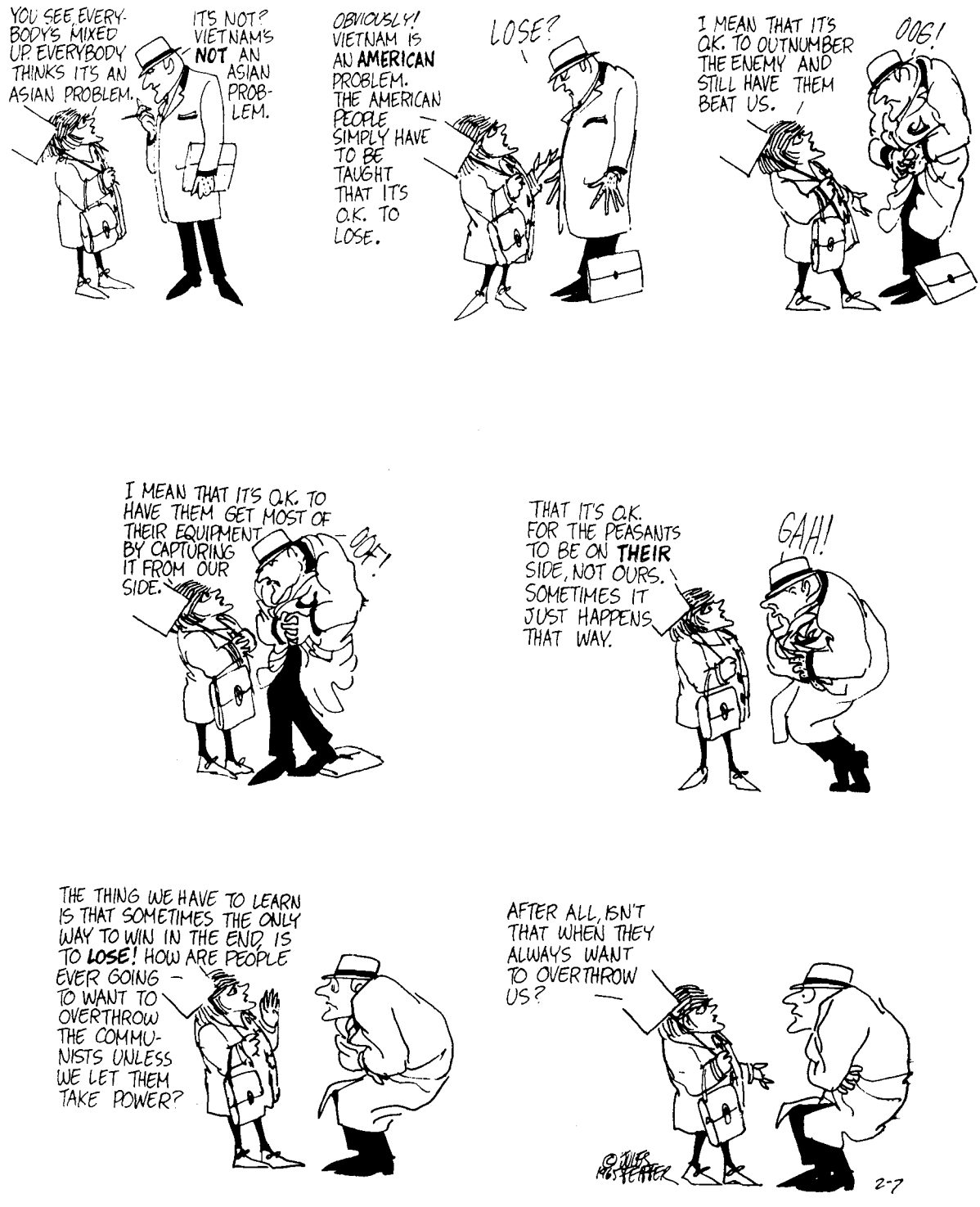
JULES FEIFFER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IT'S NOT? VIETNAM'S NOT AN ASIAN PROBLEM.
OBVIOUSLY! VIETNAM IS AN AMERICAN PROBLEM. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SIMPLY HAVE TO BE TAUGHT THAT IT'S O.K. TO LOSE.
LOSE?
I MEAN THAT IT'S O.K. TO OUTNUMBER THE ENEMY AND STILL HAVE THEM BEAT US.
OOG!
I MEAN THAT IT'S O.K. TO HAVE THEM GET MOST OF THEIR EQUIPMENT BY CAPTURING IT FROM OUR SIDE.
OOF!
THAT IT'S O.K. FOR THE PEASANTS TO BE ON THEIR SIDE, NOT OURS. SOMETIMES IT JUST HAPPENS THAT WAY.
GAH!
THE THING WE HAVE TO LEARN IS THAT SOMETIMES THE ONLY WAY TO WIN IN THE END IS TO LOSE! HOW ARE PEOPLE EVER GOING TO WANT TO OVERTHROW THE COMMUNISTS UNLESS WE LET THEM TAKE POWER?
AFTER ALL, ISN'T THAT WHEN THEY ALWAYS WANT TO OVERTHROW US?
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he will undoubtedly coax through the legislative labyrinth."

So far, the President has given us no clue that he is aware of such advice or is giving it any consideration. That should not obscure the fact that the subject of Congressional reform is steadily gaining a wider audience with the aid of such books as Burns's, Senator Clark's *The Senate Establishment* and *Congress: The Sapless Branch*, and now Bolling's *House Out of Order*. As an experienced operator in the inner workings of the House, a privileged participant in some historic legislative battles, and an able exponent of the liberal viewpoint, Bolling has turned in a highly readable and candid book with a fresh approach to an issue of growing national concern.

FILMS

New Joan, Old Jokes

Of the making of works of art about Joan of Arc, there is, presumably, no end; and understandably so. She is a figure who presents new facets of interest to every generation. The books about her pass ascertainable number. The composers who have treated her include such different ones as Tchaikovsky, Verdi, Honegger. (The first time I ever heard Tebaldi was in Verdi's *Giovanna D'Arco* – which includes a love scene between Joan and King Charles!) The plays run from Shakespeare's political cartoon in the First Part of *Henry VI* through Schiller up to the towering peak of Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan*, then on and down on the other side.

Trial of Joan of Arc
(Pathé Contemporary)
How to Murder Your Wife
(United Artists)

The film world began early with the subject. The imaginative pioneer Georges Méliès made a *Jeanne d'Arc* in 1900. Cecil B. DeMille made *Joan the Woman* in 1917, with Geraldine Farrar, a wartime recruiting-poster film to show that all Anglo-Saxons owed a debt of honor to France in atonement for Joan's martyrdom. More recently, Ingrid Bergman brought Maxwell Anderson's *Joan of Lorraine* to the screen, alas, and Otto Preminger tortured Shaw even more than he tortured Jean Seberg. The outstanding film version has been Carl Dreyer's silent *The Passion of Joan of Arc* (1928), in which, incidentally, Antonin Artaud appears.

I had thought Dreyer's version austere until I saw Robert Bresson's latest film, *Trial of Joan of Arc*. It challenges the Dreyer work both by concentrating, like Dreyer, on the trial and by attempting a cinematic treatment that is even more severe. Outside of the fact that Dreyer worked largely with close-ups and that Bresson uses mostly medium shots – from the waist up – the new film pampers the eye much less. There is none of Dreyer's figure composition against white walls, none of his small-scale Eisenstein feeling with soldiers. With a few exceptions, and they are very consciously interludes, the bulk of the film consists of shot and reverse-shot – flip-flop – between Joan and her interrogators.

One's immediate question on learning of the existence of this film is: "Why – after Dreyer?" After seeing it, the only answer I can supply is that Dreyer's film was silent and this one uses the lines that exist or can logically be derived from the records of the trial. For those whose French is up to it, there may be simple majesty in the dialogue; otherwise it does not seem to have been worth the effort. If, like me, one depends on subtitles, one is principally aware of their inadequacy and of the work's imprisonment within its scheme. The fact that this is one film that might be helped by excellent dubbing is, for me, an argument against it as film.

Florence Carrez and Jean-Claude Fourneau play Joan and Cauchon in the film's key, by doing almost nothing. The picture is one more offering at the altar of Bresson's cinematic ideals: extreme distillation, economy, astringency. "Less is More" has never been believed by anyone more devout-

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ly than by this man; and in his five previous films – notably *Pickpocket* and *A Man Escaped* – he has shown this devotion increasingly. But it reminds me of the old joke about the man who tried to live on less and less food, decreasing the amount daily, and when he finally got it down to nothing, he died. One cannot argue with Bresson's purity of intention or of execution. But, as in other matters, is purity enough? Very little in this film is moving except the rather easy emotion (for the film-maker) of Joan's incineration. The picture runs only a bit over an hour and hardly has time to be tedious; but I would rather have been moved by Joan's passion or even by such mundane matters as cinematic composition and sweep than to have been aware, almost exclusively, of the director's purity.

Notes on a film that would be profane even if it were not juxtaposed with the above. *How to Murder Your Wife* was written and produced by George Axelrod. To me, he is one of the least admirable of the comic carpenters of stage and screen: not because he contrives comedies for money (some that are written solely for money are worth the money) but because he has a strong instinct for the vulgar and/or stale which – à la Comden and Green – he surrounds with an air of bargain-basement chic. The implication is that if you laugh at an Axelrod film, you are not only enjoying yourself, you are electing yourself (though you live in Podunk) to the Smart Set.

His recent *Goodbye, Charlie* was based on a Thorne Smith type of idea about a murdered philanderer who is reincarnated, with his male lusts intact, in the body of a pretty girl. I assumed that this would logically end as an ode to onanism, but it lacked the guts for that. His latest, *HTMYW*, is a Technicolor dud based on the antique joke-book concept that bachelorhood is bliss, that men are seduced out of it by women and then long all their married lives for the Lost Paradise. Whatever truth there is in the idea (and it seems to me slim) is not present here; the script is not based on that truth but on old vaudeville and Jiggs - and - Maggie clichés. Women, single or otherwise, cannot be offended

she knows only hardship

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by it because it has the agenbite, not of inwit but of dimwit. Jack Lemmon is yet again wasted, as a successful cartoonist who puts his family life in his newspaper strip. A beautiful Italian girl named Virna Lisi makes her American debut as his wife and, in a few scenes, is permitted to show that she might be a spirited little comedienne if they would stop varnishing her like a movie star.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

The Road to Xanadu

Sirs:

It is very discouraging to find more articles in the American press of the sort written by Ross Terrill in his series (concluded in the February 6 issue) about his trip to China. All journalistic articles about China of this uneducational travelogue variety have certain points in common.

First, they all try to appear sophisticated, though ultimately written in almost total ignorance of China and its realities outside of Peking and even inside Peking. Details are often fabricated to provide the air of sophistication. Thus, Terrill, as if he has some insight worth imparting, writes, "it is always motherland in China, not fatherland." Aside from the fact that no implications are drawn from this worthless bit of information, it is incorrect since the Chinese *tsu-kuo* means literally country of the ancestors; both motherland and fatherland are permissible translations. And, again, Terrill writes of the "pedicab, known formerly as a rickshaw," but the pedicab and the rickshaw are not the same. The former is peddled, while the latter is pulled by a man on foot. This distinction was sufficiently important to the Chinese government to account for its prohibiting rickshaws as demeaning.

This sort of article never seeks reality. It is satisfied with government-handout statistics – "the breathtaking Great Hall of the People – 1,100 feet long, [with] . . . an auditorium for 10,000 people." It proceeds from one monument to another, from one prosaic fact to another. We see Mao's portrait on every building, sometimes so large it is "recognizable 300 yards away." We learn for the nth time that things are not stolen in China. All of this superficial information has been recounted many times before by Greene, Snow, *et al.*

Almost invariably these articles are written by persons who do not know Chinese, who must depend for all their information (except for chance sensory observations) upon official interpretors and often on pre-arranged interviews. Almost always, Edgar Snow being the exception that proves the rule, the articles are written by men who appear to have no expertise to bring to the subject and who have not had experience on the mainland before 1949.

But even this would not damn such articles in the context of a news-hungry public if articles of this sort did not perpetuate the cult of exotica which has always attached to China in the Western press. True, today's cult has somewhat different content from the old. It is now the exotica of a revolutionary mass society which are presented in a tone of mixed flippancy and awe that does not add to a concrete understanding of the problems involved and the limitations on solutions advanced. This is the major evil of these articles; they divert the reader from important questions.

This diversion, unfortunately, is in part inherent in the situation under which US experts in the field generally cannot enter the mainland (either because of our State Department or because of Chinese policy) and in which those persons admitted, who are not familiar with conditions, have to write on a level suitable to their own knowledge. The problem naturally is aggravated by the restrictions on travel and investigation placed on travelers in the People's Republic.

Given this, it seems to me that it is better to say nothing if there is nothing to say. Or, if real information and insights are sought, then they should be sought among the experts who study conditions on the mainland and who presumably can penetrate the surface.

The problems the Chinese face are difficult almost beyond our conception. In trying to solve them, the government has done great things. It has, for example, given the people a sense of

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national pride. But it has also committed great mistakes; *e.g.*, the Great Leap in its early phase. These are the sorts of issues upon which meaningful discussion about domestic conditions in China, even in a lay journal, should focus. . . .

Richard M. Pfeffer
Research Fellow
East Asian Research Center
Harvard University

What About Churchill?

Sirs:

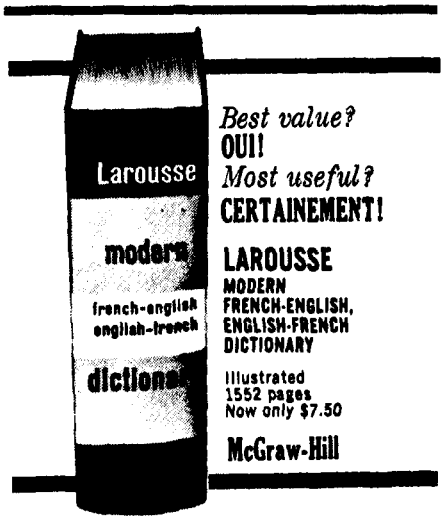
Your Churchill eulogy (January 30) was an outrage. . . . So casually conceding his wretched colonialism, you call him "a great war leader," "born for that one purpose." Have that grin, that cheek, that big cigar charmed you from your wits? Where do you find that soldiership? Do you find it in his crucial role in the Allied interventionary wars in Russia, 1918-20? In his angry refusal during World War II even to discuss with Stalin the supreme question of Russia's western frontier? Do you find the great war leader in that "soft underbelly" nonsense, refuted by so much human blood all the way to Anzio, yet pressed with endless vehemence right up to D-Day? Or in his nearly single-handed delay of the second front for at least one full year? Or maybe you're thinking of his ugly effort to return Victor Emmanuel to the Italian throne, or his personal guarantee of the post-war ascendency of Italian reaction.

Or perhaps it's the crushing of the Greek resistance, the arming to that end of the defunct royalist right, the military and political murder of ELAS, the resurrection of the X band, the use of British troops and American tanks to save Athens for the rich Kolonaki collaborationists, the whole grim story of the Greek civil war that without him might never have taken place. Maybe you like the way he defended the Greek adventure to his countrymen when (foreshadowing Johnson-Rusk on Vietnam) he said: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people [was] our only aim, our only interest, our only care." Is it this you admire?

Or it could be you're thinking of his 1946 speech in Fulton in which with one masterly soldier's stroke he puppetized our poor President, delighted the reactionaries of the world, and for once and all confirmed Russia's gravest fears about the West.

We can surely pay a kind of homage even to our foes when they are men of size and when they no longer need defeating. Churchill's wit, sense of glory, place, power commend him to memory. But the illiberalism he stood for – do you really need to be reminded? – is far from gone; it is in fact the dominant prospect of our own mortality. . . . This should have been, for you at least, a time for summation – wistful perhaps, but above all lucid. He made his unwisdom our destiny. That gives us at least the privilege of our umbrage, even at his grave.

Carl Oglesby
Ann Arbor, Michigan



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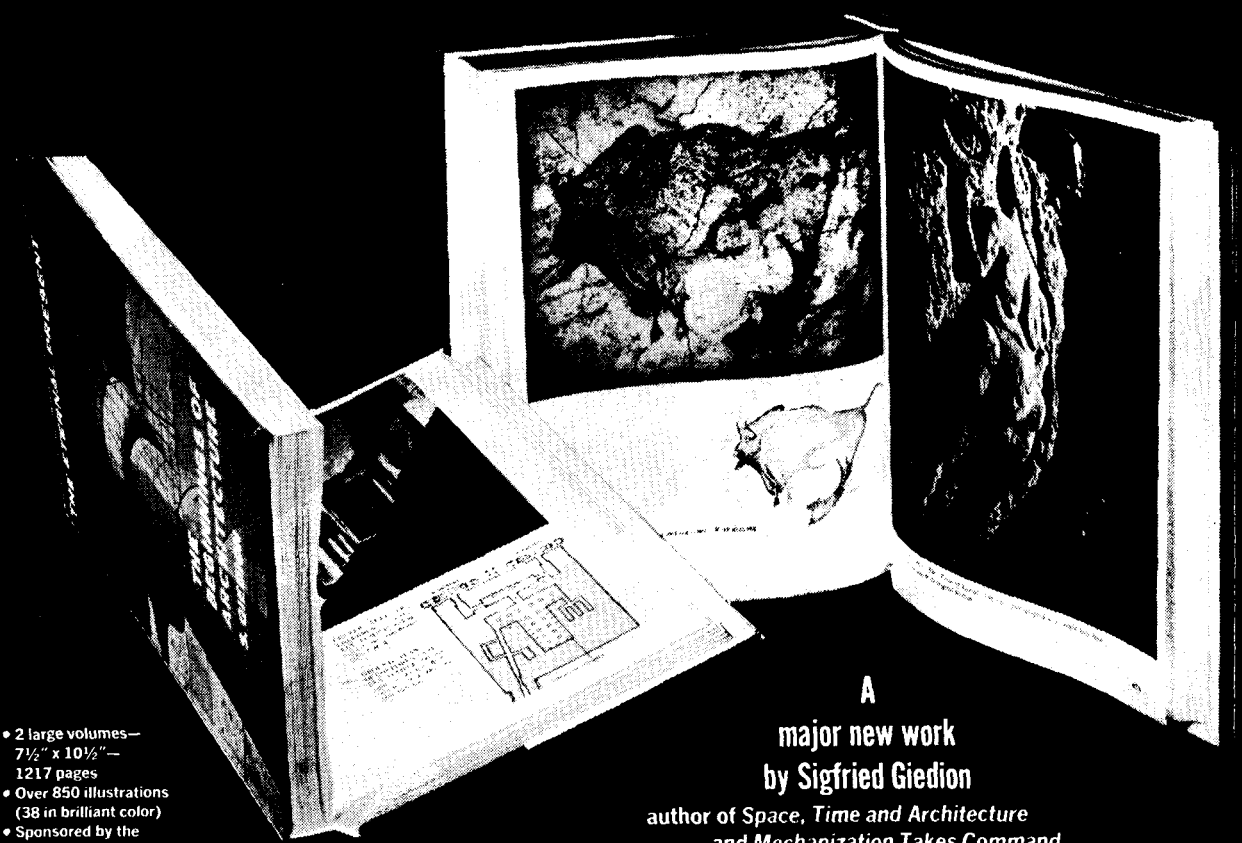

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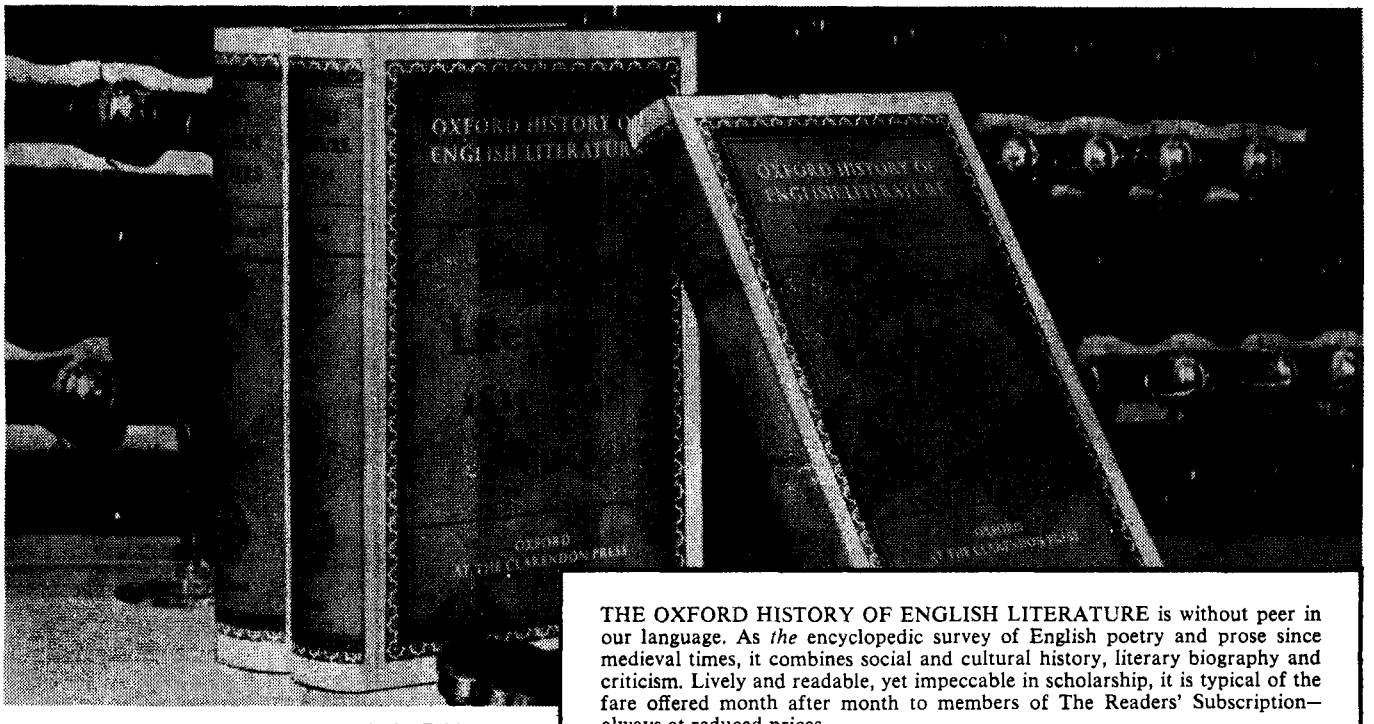

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